

19 pertinent and unusual as far as mutual understanding is concerned. The Common Turkic initial consonant q- is generally preserved in all five dialects mentioned above. The word for "black," qara, is pronounced the same in Kirghiz, Tatar, Uzbek, Salar (where it alternates with xara) and Sarigh-Uighur. In a few cases the Common Turkic q- develops into g- in Salar, e.g. New Uighur: qol, "arm," appears as gol, id. The Common Turkic final -q is generally preserved as such but in Uzbek and in Salar it frequently becomes a -x, e.g. Osmanli: yanaq "cheek", Kirghiz: džāq; Uzbek: yanaq "cheek bone", Salar: yanax. Another possible phonetic development of the final Common Turkic -q is that to -ǵ in Uzbek and to -g in Salar, e.g. Tatar: baliq "fish", Salar: paliǵ. The intermediate Common Turkic -q- is preserved as such but occurs in Salar as --x-, e.g. Uzbek: oqu "to read", Salar: uxu-. The Common Turkic initial consonant k- is preserved as such in all five dialects. Only rarely does it become g- in Salar, e.g. Uzbek: kŭmtŭš "silver", Kirghiz: kŭmtŭš, Tatar: kŭmŭš, Salar: kŭmiš; but the Uzbek: Kŭmtŭr/becomes gŭmir in Salar. The final Common Turkic consonant -k is preserved as such in all five dialects. However, in Salar it can become a -x, e.g. Uzbek and Kirghiz: ek- "to sow", Salar: ǵx- "to plow". The Common Turkic voiced stops, -ǵ- and -g- in intermediate and final position undergo very characteristic phonetic developments.

1) The Common Turkic group -aǵ occurs in Kazakh and in Tatar as -au, in Kirghiz as ō and in Salar as -ag or -aǵ, e.g. Taranchi: taǵ "mountain, Kazakh and Tatar: tau, Kirghiz: tō and Salar: tag or taǵ.

2) The Common Turkic group -aǵa is preserved in all five dialects. However, in Kirghiz it often becomes contracted, e.g. Kirghiz and Tatar: aǵač "tree", Kazakh: aǵaš, Uzbek: ǵaš, Salar: aǵaš, but Taranchi: taǵar "bag, sack", is pronounced in Kirghiz as tār.

3) The Common Turkic group -aǵı occurs in Kirghiz as ō, in Kazakh and Tatar as au and is preserved as such in Salar and Uzbek, e.g. Uzbek: aǵız "mouth", Kirghiz: ōz or ōs or ūz, Salar: aǵı "his mouth" (only the form with the possessive suffix of the third person singular is recorded).

4) The Common Turkic group -aǵu is preserved in Uzbek and in Salar when it constitutes the first and second syllable of a stem, but it is not preserved as such when it constitutes the second and third syllable of a word. In Kirghiz and in Kazakh it became contracted to a long ū and in Tatar it developed to avē or ewē, e.g. Middle Turkic: yaǵuq "next, close, near", Chagatai: yavūq, Kirghiz: ūq, Kazakh: ūq, Uzbek, yauq.

5) The Common Turkic group -oǵ occurs in Kirghiz, and Kazakh and Tatar as long ū; in Uzbek as oǵ or uǵ; and in Salar as ug, e.g.

- 19 New Uighur and Uzbek: *toɣ-* or *tɣ-* "to be born or to give birth to a child", Kirghiz and Kazakh and Tatar: *tũ*. Salar has only one word recorded which contains the Common Turkic *-oɣ* namely *ugri* "thief", which is pronounced in Uzbek as *oyri*.
- 6) The Common Turkic group *-oɣa* was preserved as such in Uzbek, became a long *ō* in Kirghiz, and in Kazakh and in Tatar it has been transformed to *uɣa*, *u'a* or *ua*, e.g. Uighur: *boyaz* "goiter" or "pregnant", Uzbek: *boɣaz*, Kirghiz: *bōz* "pregnant" Kazakh: *bugaz*, Tatar: *buaz*.
- 7) The Common Turkic group *-oɣu* occurs in Kirghiz, Kazakh and Tatar as a long *ū* (in the latter also as *uvē* and *ēwē*); in Uzbek it has been preserved or was transformed to *avu*; in Salar it has been preserved as *ogu*, e.g. Uzbek: *oɣul* "son", Kirghiz, Kazakh and Tatar: *ūl*, Salar: *oɣul*.
- 8) The Common Turkic group *-uɣ* became a long *ū* in Kirghiz, *uv* in Uzbek, *e* in Tatar and simply *u* in Salar (or *i* when constituting non-first syllables) e.g. Uzbek: *yuv-* "to wash", Salar: *yu-*.
- 9) The Common Turkic group *+ɣu* has been preserved as such in Uighur, Chagatai, Kirghiz and Kazakh, e.g. *buɣu* "male deer."
- 10) The Common Turkic group **-ij* became *-eɣ* in Uzbek (or has been preserved as *-ij*); it remained in Kirghiz and Kazakh as *-ij* and was transformed to *-ōj* in Tatar, e.g. Uzbek: *yīɣ-* or *yey-* "to stock up, to collect", Kirghiz: *ŋij-*, Tatar: *ŋōj-*.
- 11) The Common Turkic group *+ij* remained as such or became *eɣi* or *igi* in Uzbek, *-ij* or a long *-ī* in Kazakh and occurs in Tatar as *ēyē* or long *-ī*, e.g. Uzbek: *yey* in "heap, pile, hoard", Kirghiz: *ŋīyīn*, Kazakh: *ŋījn* or *ŋīn*.
- 12) The Common Turkic group *+āg* is represented in Uzbek by *-eg*, in Kirghiz and Kazakh and Tatar by a long *-ī* or by *-ij*, e.g. New Uighur: *beg* "a native official", Tatar: *bēj*, Salar: *peɣ*.
- 13) The Common Turkic group *+āgā* is preserved in Uzbek as *-ege-*, in Kirghiz as long *ē* and in Kazakh as *-iyā-* e.g. Uzbek: *yegen* "nephew", Kirghiz: *ŋēn*, Kazakh: *ŋīyān*.
- 14) The Common Turkic group *+āgū* is represented in Chagatai as *-āgi-*, in Kirghiz and Kazakh as *-ūgū-*, e.g. Chagatai: *tāgil* "not", Kirghiz and Kazakh: *tūgūl*.
- 15) The Common Turkic group *+āgi* is represented in Uzbek by *-igi-* or *-egi-*, in Kazakh by a long *-ī*, in Tatar by *-ēgē-*, in Kirghiz by *-egi-* and in Salar by *e*, e.g. Chagatai: *tāgirman* "mill", New Uighur: *tōgurman*, Kirghiz: *tārban* or *tegirman*, Kazakh: *tīrman*, Salar: *termen* (recorded in this form which obviously does not show the long *ē*).
- 16) The Common Turkic group *+ōg* is represented in Uzbek by *-ōk*, *-ōj*, or *ō*, in Kirghiz and Kazakh as *-ūj*, *-ōj*, or *-ū*, in Tatar by *ōj* and in Salar by *-ūg*, e.g. Taranchi: *bōrāk* "kidney", Kirghiz: *bōjrōk*, Kazakh: *būjrōk* or *būrōk*, Tatar: *bōyōr*, Uzbek:

büjräk, New Uighur: bōrāk, Salar: bŭgŭrix.

17) The Common Turkic group $+ōgā-$ is preserved as such in Uzbek, but occurs as $-ōgō-$ in Kirghiz and as $-ōge-$ in Tatar, e.g. Uzbek: ōgāj "step-", Kirghiz: ōgōj, Tatar: ōgēj.

18) The Common Turkic group $+ōgŭ-$ appears in Uighur as such, in Kirghiz and Kazakh as $-ūyū-$ and in Tatar as $-ōyō-$; e.g. Uighur: ōgŭr "herd", Kirghiz and Kazakh: ūyūr, Tatar: ōyōr.

19) The Common Turkic group $+tŭg-$ is preserved as such in Uzbek or alternates with $-ug-$ in Kirghiz and Kazakh: it became $-ūj$ and in Tatar $-ōj$; e.g. New Uighur and Uzbek: tŭg- "to tie a knot", Kirghiz and Kazakh: tūj-, Tatar: tōj-.

20) The Common Turkic group $+tūgā-$ is preserved as such in New Uighur, but became in Kirghiz and Kazakh $-tūgō-$, e.g. New Uighur: yūgān "holder", Kirghiz and Kazakh: tūgōn.

21) The Common Turkic group $+tūgŭ-$ is represented in Kirghiz and Kazakh as $-tūyū-$, e.g. Chagatai: tūgŭn or tūyūn "knot", Kirghiz and Kazakh: tūyūn, Tatar: tōyōn.

22) The Common Turkic group $+ig-$ develops into $-ij$ or long $ī$; e.g. Chagatai: ōig "raw", Tatar: ōi.

23) The Common Turkic group $+igi-$ is preserved as such in Taranchi, Uzbek, Kirghiz and Kazakh, but occurs as $-ēgē-$ in Tatar; e.g. Chagatai and Taranchi: yigit "young fellow", Uzbek: yigit, Kirghiz and Kazakh: ōigit, Tatar: yōēt, Salar: igit.

24) The Common Turkic group $+igŭ-$ is preserved as such in New Uighur but became $-iyi-$ in Kirghiz; e.g. Chagatai and New Uighur: kigŭr- "to lead in", Kirghiz: kiyir-.

2. Phonetic development of the consonants.

1) The Common Turkic consonant $+y-$ is represented in Uzbek, Chagatai and Salar by $y-$ but in Kirghiz and Kazakh by $ŷ-$; e.g. Uzbek: yaŷmur "rain", Salar: yaŷmīr, Kazakh and Kirghiz: ŷamŷīr.

2) The Common Turkic prelingual voiceless stop $+t-$ is preserved in all dialects. A peculiarity of Salar is the development of $+t-$ before $+i$, $+ī$ and $+ū$ to $ŷ-$ ($-dŷ-$) in intervocalic position and to $č-$ otherwise.

3) The Common Turkic intermediate $+d-$ ($+đ-$) is represented by $-y-$ in all five dialects. Only in Sarigh Uighur it became $-ŷ-$; e.g. Salar: aŷax "foot", Chagatai, Kazakh and Uzbek: aŷaq, New Uighur: aŷaŷ, Sarigh Uighur: aŷaq. Again Salar develops $+d-$ before $+i$ and $+ī$ to $-ŷ-$ ($-dŷ-$) or $-č-$; e.g. New Uighur: āyīq "bear", Uzbek: ayiq, Salar: ačīx.

5) The Common Turkic affricate $+č-$ (in intervocalic position) is preserved as such in New Uighur, Uzbek, Kirghiz, Tatar and Salar but became $ŷ-$ in Kazakh; e.g. Chagatai, New Uighur and Uzbek: očaq "stove", Kirghiz: očōq, Tatar: učaq, Salar: očag, Kazakh: oŷaq.

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6) The Common Turkic spirant *s is preserved as such in all five dialects; e. g. New Uighur, Uzbek: sač "hair", Salar saš, Kirghiz: čač (< sač on account of assimilation), Tatar: čäč < säč, Kazakh: šaš < saš.

7) The Common Turkic consonant *š (in all positions) becomes s in Kazakh but remains š in Uzbek, Kirghiz, Tatar and Salar, e. g. Chagatai, New Uighur, Kirghiz, Tatar, Uzbek: baš "head", Kazakh: bas, Salar: paš.

8) The Common Turkic consonant *z (*-z-) is represented by z or became devoiced to s; e. g. Uzbek: qiz "girl", Salar: kis, Tatar: kēz.

9) The Common Turkic labial *b- is preserved as such in Uighur, Chagatai, New Uighur, Kirghiz, Kazakh and Tatar, but becomes voiceless p in Salar. In the latter it also can result in b or v due to sandhi; e. g. New Uighur and Chagatai: bār- "to give" Kirghiz and Kazakh: ber-, Tatar: bir-, Salar: ver-, but Uzbek: bir "one" becomes in Salar pir.

10) The Common Turkic labial *-p- inconsistently results in -b-, -v-, or -m-, or is preserved as -p-; e. g. Uighur: tobīq "ankle", Tatar: tobuq, Kirghiz: topuq or tomuq.

11) The Common Turkic nasals *m, *n and *ŋ are generally preserved as such. The same is true for the Common Turkic liquids *r and *l.

3. Vocalism

As far as vocalism is concerned, only Tatar differs greatly from all the other Turkic languages spoken in Sinkiang.

1) The Common Turkic *u becomes o in Tatar; e. g. Uighur: bulut "cloud", Tatar: bolet (o is a vowel between o and u).

2) The Common Turkic *a results in ä in Tatar; e. g. Common Turkic: čač- "to strew", Tatar: čäč-.

3) The Common Turkic *i resulted in a reduced vowel ĩ : e. g. kiz "girl", Tatar: qiz.

4) The Common Turkic *o resulted in u in Tatar; e. g. Uighur: bol- "to be", Tatar: bul-.

5) The Common Turkic vowels *ä and *e resulted in i in Tatar; e. g. Uighur: kel- "to come", Tatar: kil-.

6) The Common Turkic vowel *ö resulted in ü in Tatar; e. g. Uzbek: kōl "lake", Tatar: küł.

7) The Common Turkic *ū resulted in e in Tatar; e. g. Uighur: kūn "day", Tatar: ken.

These phonetic changes make it difficult for the Uzbeks, New Uighurs, Kirghiz and Kazakhs to converse with the Tatars.

II. The Mongolian Dialects

A. The Western Mongolian or Kalmuck

In linguistic usage the term Kalmuck applies to West Mongolian or Oirat.

563 or Oirat. The Kalmucks proper are, or rather were, only a
 001 group of the Oirats (Western Mongols). As a people they have
 619 ceased to exist. The Western Mongols are divided into the
 175 Torgut, Khoshut, Ōlot and Dörbet (also called Dzungar) tribes.
 563 As the pressure of the Chinese government became too strong
 in the early 17th century some Khoshuts migrated into the Koko-
 nor area. The Torguts moved into the steppes (1618) between the
 Urals and the Volga and submitted to the Russians. In 1673 the
 Dorbets, and in 1675 the Khoshuts, who had not migrated to the
 Kokonor area, followed their lead. However by 1771 Russian
 domination had become so oppressive that the Oirats decided on
 a return migration. Only a small part of the 400,000 people and
 their animals that wandered back arrived in their new home,
 which was now called Dzungaria (Mongolian: zūn gar "right
 wing"). One group settled in the eastern part of Tien-shan,
 [131] another small group at the southern edges of the Gobi, at the
 Kokonor and another in the Chinese province, Kansu.

Linguistically speaking, the following changes have occurred:

1) The Kalmuck language has contracted the groups *aɣu, *egü,
 etc. to long vowels:

Common Mongolian	Mongolian	Kalmuck
*caɣayan "white"	čayan	tsayān
*qaɣayar "bridle"	qaɣayar	ɣazār
*qaɣalya "gate"	qaɣalya	ɣālyə
*čigiray < *tiɣiray "massive"	čigiray	tširoG "solid"
*dayuda- "to call"	dayuda-	dūn "voice"
*toɣari- "to turn"	toɣori-	tör- "to go around"

2) I-breaking has occurred:

Mongolian	Kalmuck
birayū "calf"	bürū
miqan "meat"	maxn
sira "yellow"	šarə
milaya "lash"	maɫā

3) I-breaking did not occur in some instances; rather *i has
 assimilated the vowel in the following syllable:

Mongolian: jida "spear" Kalmuck: dʒide < *jide

4) The Common Mongolian affricatives *č and *ʃ became in
 Kalmuck *ts and *z respectively. Only before *i did they remain
 as *tš and *dž:

Mongolian	Kalmuck
čayan "white"	tsayān
časun "snow"	tsasn
čisun "blood"	tsusn
ʃekegün "cold"	zekūn
ʃelkei "thief"	zelkē

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• 19^S but before *i:

Mongolian	Kalmuck
bižig "letter, writing"	bitžig (or bitžig)
čimūgen "hammer"	tšimgn
čiraj "face"	tširī

5) The Common Mongolian *e became *ō in certain positions:

Mongolian	Kalmuck
ebūsūn "hay"	ōwōn
ebūddg "knee"	ōwdīg
ehedčīn "disease"	ōwtān
elgū- "to hang"	ōlg-

6) The Written Mongolian (old Mongolian) diphthongs have developed into long vowels in the Kalmuck language:

Mongolian	Kalmuck
dalbayai "large and flat"	dalwayā
duldui "iron rod"	duldū
gei "handle of an axe"	gē
mofai "snake"	moyā
alyui "name of a plant"	alyū

7) The Common Mongolian vowels have developed into front vowels before the Common Mongolian *i:

Mongolian	Kalmuck
bari- "to seize"	bār-
qari- "to come back"	χār-
sayin "good"	sān

B.. The Monguor Language

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One of the strangest Mongolian languages is Monguor, because it preserves still some Middle Mongolian peculiarities and also because it is under the influence of initial forms which are characteristic of Tibetan. Those Mongols who call themselves Monguors live in the Chinese province of Kansu and practice nomadic animal breeding as well as some agriculture. The Chinese call them Tu-jen. The Mongols of the Mongolian People's Republic call them Dolot. The sub-group of San-chuan Mongols (Monguor) live north of Kuan-ting. The Santa live south of the Yellow River and east of Tao-ho. The sub-group of the Shera-Yogur live around Kan-chou, Su-chou and Tun-huang. All these tribes are Buddhists with the exception of the Santa, who have become converted to Islam. Culturally the Monguors, at least partially, appear to be mongolized Turks and Tibetans.

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19 The following observations may be made about the Monguor language:

1) The Monguor language has preserved the Common Mongolian *p or *q as *f and as *χ:

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The success, however, is not so complete as it is indicated in these reports. While there are minority groups which cooperate with the Communists, others do not. A good example is Hsiang Ch'ien, a Tibetan chief in Chinghai, who fought against the Communists from the beginning of the Communists' rule till he exhausted his supplies. For more than two years, the Communists wooed him to no avail. In 1952, he suffered big losses, and even his family was captured by the Communists. The Communists mobilized numerous local leaders to talk terms with him and finally brought him to surrender. This case was publicized because it had a "happy ending" for the Communists. It nevertheless indicates that not all goes as well in the Northwest as the Communists might like.

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D. Minority Languages
Besides these general practices of the Communist minority policy, a special point of interest is the promise in article 3 of the Communist constitution: "All the nationalities have freedom to use and foster the growth of their spoken and written languages." In fact, the Communists even intended to create new written languages for those nationalities who had not had a written language of their own. (A resolution at the 217th meeting of the Government Administration Council on May 20, 1954, in K'e-hsueh t'ung-pao, 1954, July issue p. 24). After consultation with experts a compromise was reached in 1954. It was decided to try one or two new written languages first. After reviewing the whole situation, Lo Ch'ang-p'ei, head of the Institute of Linguistics of China Science Academy, drew this conclusion: "Not only may the minority groups learn written and spoken Chinese before their own written language is created, but even after they have a written language, it is still necessary for them to learn Chinese." (Lo Ch'ang-p'ei, "Following the direction of the Government Administration Council to help the various nationalities without language to create their own," in K'e-hsueh t'ung-pao, July, 1954, pp. 24-26.)

The language policy is apparently two-fold. On the one hand, the minority groups may retain their own languages; on the other hand, they are encouraged, if not required, to learn the Chinese language. This second policy has to be seen in the light of the drive to promote the national language and to eliminate all local dialects. Judging by the trend in the Soviet Union, the minority groups at least will be required to learn and to use the Chinese language, regardless of the fate of their own.

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A team to investigate the minority languages in Sinkiang was organized and sent to the field by the Institute of Linguistics of the China Science Academy. They stayed in Sinkiang for over fifty days recording and collecting material concerning the local

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languages. This seems to be part of the effort toward the creation of the new written languages.

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So far the only new written language on record in the Northwest is the language used in Kozelesu Khalkha Kirghiz Autonomous Chou in Sinkiang. This Kirghiz group had had a written language before, but it used now an Arabic alphabet. The Government adopted for the group, the Soviet Kirghiz script and created a new 3--letter alphabet. (Kuang-ming jih-pao, April 11, 1955.)

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As the situation stands in 1956, the written languages, other than Chinese, used in the Northwest are Uighur, Kazakh, Manchu, Mongolian, Tibetan, and Kirghiz.